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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

●114 For a number of years I have been deeply interested in problems of pioneering, especially of pioneering in the tropics. My earlier studies were concerned with the possibilities of settlement in the tropics by peoples of other latitudes, both Westerners and Asiatics. In the course of these studies I became more and more interested in the fact that in many parts of the tropics, above all in the Asiatic tropics, there has been a great need for alleviation of the pressure of population. Occasionally this has led to spontaneous pioneering by small groups of settlers, but more frequently to the encouragement and support of pioneering by governments.

121 It was my original plan to visit all of the countries around the South China Sea and to study government-sponsored settlement activities in the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, and Indochina at first hand. The war, however, prevented me from visiting the mainland of Southeastern Asia; instead, I had to limit myself to the island world of the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies. From May 1940 to May 1941 I traveled throughout the islands of Luzon, Negros, Cebu, Mindanao, Java, Sumatra, and Bali. The war has also made impossible a rechecking of many of the references.

000 In the field I enjoyed the generous help of a large number of government officials as well as of private persons. In the Philippines I turned frequently for advice and assistance to Mr. Arthur F. Fischer, then President Quezon's adviser, who, as former Director of the Bureau of Forestry, has an unrivaled knowledge of the Philippine Islands. I am especially grateful to the staff of the National Land Settlement Administration.

In the Netherlands Indies I found the officials of the departments of Economic Affairs and of the Interior most kind and helpful. I wish to express thanks especially to Dr. H. J. van Mook, then Director of the Department of Economic Affairs, and to Messrs. A. Luytjes, J. J. Ochse, E. de Vries, A.M.M.P. Scheltema, A. K. Pringgodigdo, Th. J. Odenkirchen, P. Creutzberg, J. C. L. Götz van der Vet, J. F. Dekker, H. A. A. M. Wirtz, L. Gonggrijp, J. F. Kools, W. F. H. van Ameron, L. H. Vreeling, H. Loos, and W. E. K. Baron van Lynden, all of the Department of Economic Affairs. I am also greatly indebted to Governors C. O. van der Plas and L. Adam and to the following members of the Department of the Interior: Messrs. C. C. J. Maassen, J. M. Pieters, H. J. Friedericy, A. Jonkers, J. van der Zwaal, A. Deelemen, G. Ijsselstijn and G. de Lassequere.

To my wife, who accompanied me, I am deeply indebted for inspiration and encouragement as well as for keen criticism of the manuscript. Dr. Robert Bowman read the first part of the book with painstaking care; his criticism and suggestions were of great value to me. The late G.H.C. Hart read and criticized the chapters on the Netherlands Indies. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor Leo Waibel, Dr. George F. Carter, and Messrs. Bruno Lasker and Philip Lilienthal for their helpful suggestions and to the editors for their work. The guidance of the U.S. Board

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During untold centuries in which they collected plant matter, women acquired an intimate knowledge of vegetable life. Eduard Hahn and others have therefore reasoned that women were the inventors of the cultivation of plants and hence were the first food producers. Hahn has given the name *Hackbau* (hoe culture or hoe tillage) to primitive cultivation, and maintains that the hoe is woman's implement; he draws a sharp distinction between Hackbau and more advanced cultivation, which he calls *Pflugbau* (plow culture or plow tillage) and ascribes to men.[9] It is indeed true that men generally farm with plows and that many examples may be cited of women using hoes; nevertheless, there are so many instances of male primitive cultivators employing hoes or similar instruments that Hahn's classification should be modified. While there seems to be no reason for abandoning his theory of the invention of plant cultivation by women, the classification of cultivation by tools, such as the hoe and the plow, ascribed to one sex or the other, is unsatisfactory. For, in spite of the fact that the collection of vegetable matter is almost exclusively the woman's task in the gathering economy, among primitive cultivators men either assist women in the cultivation of plants or entirely take over this activity whenever hunting or fishing become less important than soil tillage. Furthermore, many primitive cultivators do not use the hoe, but continue to employ the digging stick, characteristically used by the food-gathering women. From Formosa southward throughout the Malay Archipelago, as well as on the mainland of Southeastern Asia, the digging stick, also known as the dibble stick or planting stick, is frequently used by the primitive cultivator. On the other hand, there are advanced cultivators who till their land intensively with hoes; they use manure, rotate their crops, terrace fields that lie on slopes, and practice irrigation, yet they do not use plows drawn by draft animals (however, in some instances they have livestock). In other words, advanced agriculture does not depend upon the animal-drawn plow nor does primitive agriculture depend upon the hoe.

A more fundamental distinction between primitive and advanced agriculture may be made in terms of land use rather than of tools. Primitive cultivators, with the possible exception of those living in arid regions, raise one or two crops on a given plot of land, then abandon the plot and make a new field, preferably in the forest, so that the old plot lies fallow sometimes for many years and may itself revert to forest; in short, primitive cultivators shift the place of their agricultural activities with regularity. The crop land consists of small patches scattered throughout the forest; these patches are extremely ragged in appearance and do not look at all like fields. A primitive cultivator would never think of removing stumps and fallen trees; instead, he deliberately raises his crop among them. This kind of cultivation is best described as shifting-field, or shift-

[9] Hahn: Das Alter der wirtschaftlichen Kultur, 1905; idem: Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur, 1909; idem: Von der Hacke zum Pflug, 1914; Kolff: "Hahn's hypothese," 1926, pp. 884–907.

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lanzones, papayas, and chicos, which find a good market in Manila, but on the whole we rarely meet in the Philippines such intensive garden culture as in Java. The diet of the average Filipino is not well balanced and is particularly deficient in fruits and vegetables. In recognition of this fact the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Plant Industry have both done much to impress the peasants with the need for fruit and vegetable gardens. Although the situation has improved during the past forty years and a large variety of fruits is now produced, the country still depends upon imports, whereas with a little effort most of the imported fruits could be produced locally and would furnish an additional source of income. It would be well to encourage the peasants to grow more fruits and to advise them on the most suitable varieties. In the other countries of Southeastern Asia, also, with the possible exception of Java, such advice would be valuable.

The published material available on the importance of gardens in Indochina is similarly limited in quantity. Even Gourou in his study of land utilization restricts himself chiefly to listing the fruits and vegetables found in the gardens and to stating that certain districts are renowned for the quality of their garden fruits. Gourou's list of fruits and vegetables is as varied and extensive, however, as similar lists for any of the other countries of Southeastern Asia.

Wet Fields

Throughout the countries bordering the South China Sea most of the cultivated land is used for the growing of lowland, or wet, rice. For this purpose the fields must be leveled and surrounded by earth dams to impound rain water during the rainy season or to confine the water that is carried to the fields through irrigation canals or lifted to the fields by mechanical means. If a field is properly leveled the surrounding dyke will keep the water everywhere at the same depth. The size of the wet-rice, or paddy, fields, and the amount of labor that is required to make them, depend upon the topography of the region. In the lowlands, where no terracing is required, there is relatively little labor involved in the making of paddies, which are frequently large. A hilly, or mountainous, terrain necessitates terracing, which demands greater effort and reduces the size of individual fields; the steeper the slope, the narrower the paddies. We have only to see the rice terraces of the mountains of northern Luzon, southern Bali, the Preanger districts of West Java, or Sumatra's West Coast in order to realize how much effort has been expended in building these terraces and how much energy must be devoted to their upkeep. The terraces, as well as the wet-rice fields of the plains, represent the accumulated efforts of generations of peasants, each of which has helped to extend the area devoted to the cultivation of wet rice (Figs. 50–58).[1]

Not all people show the same skill in the making of paddies. According to Credner, the Thai are quite helpless on sloping land that requires terracing before wet rice may be planted. They would prefer to migrate to a

[1] [See pp. 115 ff. catagory 116. -- Analyst]

2:Purcell G-4 (no date) 1951 AL1 Southeast Asia AL1
Chinese

and they are now less than one and a half million compared with the Chinese eight and a half or so in a total population approaching one hundred and sixty million. Nor can they compare with their fellow immigrants in wealth and influence. The Chinese in Southeast Asia are of the greatest political, economic, and social significance to the region and, indirectly, to the world as a whole, but until now no comprehensive study of them has been attempted. The considerations that have led me to venture to provide what is at least an outline of the subject are as follows.

To carry out the research necessary for an adequate history of the Chinese in the seven countries of the region (counting 'British Borneo' as one), together with a basic study of Chinese emigration into Southeast Asia and its causes, to collate the material, and to write the work itself would, in all reasonableness, take some seven or eight years. Moreover, the qualifications for embarking on such an enterprise should include, first, an extensive background knowledge of China and the Chinese, secondly, a close acquaintance with the several countries of Southeast Asia and their histories, and, thirdly, at least a working knowledge of a score of languages and dialects. Since no person of the necessary qualifications, leisure, or ambition appeared to be forthcoming, and the need for a primer on Chinese affairs in this region was urgent, I decided to be greatly daring and to try my hand at a single impressionistic volume. My qualifications fell far short of the desideratum, but among them were two years of study in Canton, a period of attachment to the Hong Kong Government, and an intimate contact with the Chinese in Malaya, as a Colonial official, for over a quarter of a century.[1] I had visited the countries themselves at different times (the last occasion being as consultant to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1947), and I had an acquaintance with the Chinese written language and the Cantonese and Mandarin dialects as well as a working knowledge of French, Spanish, Italian, and Malay, with some German, Portuguese, and Dutch. I had also served an apprenticeship in the subject by writing a study of the Chinese in one country of the area.[2]

[1] Many appointments, held during this period, included those of magistrate, Protector of Chinese, Assistant Director of Education (Chinese), and Director-General of Information. Under the British Military Administration (1945–6) I was Colonel, Principal Adviser on Chinese affairs.

[2] *The Chinese in Malaya* (London, Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948).

7: Furnivall G-4, 5 (no date) 1948 AL1 Southeast Asia AL1

121 however, one obvious difficulty. The officials for whom the original note was written shared with the writer a common knowledge of Burma and its administration. For readers without such special knowledge it was necessary to trace the course of development more closely and to illustrate the results more clearly, even at the risk of multiplying tedious detail. Another difficulty, still more formidable, may be less obvious. For undesirable features of British rule in Burma, British officials, conscious of their good intentions, naturally tend to blame the Burman; Burmans, no less naturally, blame the British. Similarly in Netherlands India we find mutual recriminations between Dutch and Indonesians. Only by eliminating so far as possible all personal and local factors can one arrive at a just estimate of any particular experiment in colonial rule. It seemed necessary therefore to frame the comparison between Burma and Netherlands India in a general survey of colonial policy and practice. For such a survey, however, they provide a convenient introduction by presenting respectively extreme types of the alternative systems of direct and indirect rule.

• 114 In venturing further afield one was inevitably treading on uncertain ground. I was at home in Burma. After more than twenty years in the Civil Service, I was occupied for some time in business and in the direction of an agricultural bank, and also had the privilege of being associated with the University of Rangoon and the Education Department in various educational experiments. With the ready assistance of Dutch and Indonesian authorities I have made some study of Netherlands India, and I have visited Malaya, Siam and Cochin China. I also have some personal acquaintance with administration in British India. But of Africa, the other great field of colonial rule, I knew nothing at first hand. Fortunately it was possible to turn for information to Lord Hailey's great *African Survey*, and the extent of my debt to it will be readily apparent. It would be hard to say how much I owe to the voluminous writings of Dutch colonial experts, but among them I must mention in particular Dr J. H. Boeke, Professor of Tropical Economy in Leiden University, and Mr Meijer Ranneft, formerly Vice-President of the Raad van Indië. It is impossible for me to express adequately my gratitude to my friend Mr G. E. Harvey, for the care with which he read the first proofs of this book and for his

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generous comments and criticisms, and also for allowing me to use his unpublished extracts from the records of early British rule in Arakan.

The book was written during the late war, and completed early in 1945. The delay in publication has been due partly to the difficulties of the present time, partly to imperfections in the original script; and in this connection I must gratefully acknowledge the help and patience of the University Press. During the interval there have been great changes but, as the Japanese invasion of the Tropical Far East must certainly mark a turning-point in colonial rule, and subsequent events are still too close to be reviewed in due perspective, it seemed expedient merely to revise the tense in references to the war.

One change however calls for comment. Britain has granted Burma independence. On both parts this may seem bold even to the point of rashness. Some contend that we have been too ready to throw off the responsibilities of Government and Burmans over-ready to assume them. It is a tumbled house that they inherit, and there is urgent need to repair the damage, moral and material, inflicted on Burma in a war during which it was twice invaded. Exports have fallen by two-thirds of the pre-war figure of £37 million. The annual revenue covers only one-third of the current expenditure, and the national debt of over £110 million, about seven times the revenue, is rapidly increasing. Despite the general inexperience of Burmans in modern industry and commerce, their new leaders must enable Burma, so far as national interest allows, to make a due contribution to world welfare by the development of its resources. Moreover, in a country where the tradition of military service has long been suffered to decay, they must train the people to defend their freedom. Now also it will fall on them to deal with problems long-standing and hitherto insoluble: to adapt western institutions to an eastern people, provide remedies for agricultural debt and land alienation, reduce litigation and crime to healthy proportions, restore order among the Buddhist clergy, and purify the administration of corruption. In a troubled world, though less acquainted with affairs than their old rulers, they face a situation far more difficult. In these circumstances it is impossible to contemplate the future without misgivings, and we may well regret that in the past more was not done to equip the people and their leaders for the responsibilities of independence.

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NOTE

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THIS BOOK constitutes a report of a longterm project in the international research program of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The disturbed conditions in Southeast Asia have made it impossible to deal as fully as had originally been hoped with the wartime and postwar labor problems of the area. Many of these more recent developments, however, will be discussed in the author's forthcoming study of the effects of the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia. This new study will probably be published under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations during 1948.

Thanks are due to Mr. Bruno Lasker for editorial and other assistance in the preparation of the supplement to the book, and also to Mr. Wilfrid Benson for his Preface. Although the book is issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the author alone is responsible for statements of fact or opinion presented in it.

William L. Holland
Secretary-General

New York
July 1947

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In this general problem of Southeast Asia, it would be dangerous to neglect the contributing problems of labor standards and labor policies. It is true that the population is predominantly peasant, that the wage earner usually comes from and returns to his land and that wage standards must remain low so long as peasant standards of living are low. Yet with all this, a social revolution was taking place during the colonial period and will spread if the expanding population is to live. In Southeast Asia, as in the rest of the world, this will involve an exodus from the country to the town and to a certain extent, from agriculture to industry. In the country, it will involve the acceleration of the change from subsistence to cash farming, an increase of wage earning as a normal means of making a living, and the penetration of the effects of employment to villages which are as yet remote. And neglect is more than possible. Whereas under colonial rule indigenous leaders were being increasingly associated in the political functions of government, their participation in and training for the complexities of modern production were hopelessly inadequate. Now, not only are the trained technicians scanty, but it is possible that the feudal, static traditions of the countries will leave local opinion indifferent to the lot of the men and women laboring outside the established practices.

Miss Virginia Thompson's studies on labor problems in Southeast Asia are therefore not merely of value to the labor expert and the sociologist; they are of political importance. Despite the difficulties of research when many of the detailed reports were unobtainable and few persons could be consulted on practical conditions, so that some of her statements may be open to question, she has been able to present a valuable synthesis of labor laws and of the problems confronting the administrations, managements and workers in Western undertakings. She has also sketched with skill the postwar developments which appear to be of greatest significance. Whether or not the future will bring out other changes than those she indicates, it seems certain that throughout the period of settlement there will be a close connection between political peace and progress and labor peace and progress. Therefore, that she has political opinions which color her judgment on labor conditions is not a criticism. Without political opinions, any survey of the labor situation would be merely academic.

As Miss Thompson indicates, in many respects the labor policies of the colonial powers were progressive. For some time attention was confined to the regulation of plantation and mining labor, but from the late thirties the importance of a comprehensive labor policy was receiving increased recognition. It could no longer be thought that the administrations' chief responsibility was for conditions of employment on the estates and mines in respect of which they controlled the labor supply. Problems of modern employment were being tackled through minimum wage

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Ine 467 668 a thousand Communists into exile to the Digeol Internment Camp in New Guinea. There had remained, it is true, some forty unfederated unions, but these were almost all made up of government employees and at that time had a combined membership of only thirty thousand.

In its present reincarnation, the Indonesian labor movement has been greatly influenced by European and Australian examples. It may be dated from August 17, 1945, when Ir. Soekarno proclaimed the republic —with constitutional provisions favoring the organization of genuinely autonomous trade unions. In the autumn of 1946, the two branches of the movement—comparable with the AFL and CIO in the United States—combined into one central organization, called SOBSIE. Like the Republican Government which encourages it, this federation is orientated toward socialism and under strong Western influence. Communist influence appeared to be small in the spring of 1947, although Communists were known to have infiltrated, particularly into the unions of petroleum workers. The closed-shop question had not yet arisen.

INDOCHINA [4]

Ich 467 The effect of the war and of the Japanese occupation on the labor situation in Indochina resembled more that in Malaya than that in Indonesia. On the one hand, the influence of the great European enterprises still was dominant; on the other, the trade union movement had tended to assume a more political coloration and, indeed, had to some extent been organized for political purposes through the medium of strikes. The President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Ho Chi Minh, is credited (or charged) with having called into being nominal trade unions which actually are little more than instruments of political action. He formed a central organization which he called Confédération Générale de Travail (CGT) after the French prototype and for the purpose of international affiliation.

Ich 467 166 It has been said that "l'Annamite est un monsieur qui adore les associations—plus elles sont secrètes, plus il les aime"; but it does not follow that the wide network of unions that has sprung into being with the Republic's encouragement is so organized that it can effectively serve the social welfare in general and the improvement of working conditions in particular. The sudden transplantation by the government of large numbers of laborers from the Tonkin delta area to malaria-infested inland areas in need of development is cited as the sort of measure which was neither well planned nor carried out by means of a democratic procedure,

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[4] This section is based to a large extent on an interview with M. Guiriec, Directeur de l'Action Sociale et du Travail, Saigon, on May 28, 1947. M. Guiriec has spent many years in Tonkin as an Inspector of Labor, and has been charged with the drafting of a trade-union law for the whole of French Indochina.

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114 The need for a reorientation in kinship theory was first expressed by Kroeber in a classic article that appeared over thirty years ago (1909). This analysis led to much controversy on the general topic of sociological vs. psychological causation, with Radcliffe-Brown joining in the chorus, and the "eight categories" set up by Kroeber have exerted some influence, e.g. they have been applied by Feng to the Chinese terminology system. The theoretical implications were developed much later, and along altogether different lines, by Davis and Warner. Kroeber himself, building on an earlier analysis by Opler, has reconstructed the main features of the Athabascan kinship terminology, while Shimkin, one of his pupils, has made a more intensive study of the Uto-Aztecan system. Insofar as the writer is aware, none of the remaining American language groups has received similar attention, despite the fact that ample material, and in some instances linguistic studies, are available. Aside from the above, only Seligman's review of the Semitic terms, and Milke's analysis of the Melanesian and Polynesian sibling terms, have come to the writer's attention.

In the above studies by Kroeber, Shimkin, Seligman, and Milke, the historical relationships of the terms themselves are considered and some use is made of linguistic generalizations. Shimkin in particular has profited from Sapir's and Whorf's work on Uto-Aztecan phonology, and has thus been able to incorporate a fair body of linguistic information into his work. Seligman's article is deficient from the linguistic

121 point of view, and it is apparent that the author lacks
114 even a partial command of comparative Semitic philology.
Milke's work shows the same shortcoming, despite the availability of Dempwolff's epoch-making studies on Austronesian phonology. Kroeber has stressed the point that even non-specialists can profitably engage in comparative studies of this type, and the point is well taken. There remains, however, the fact that the risk of grievous misinterpretations is greatly heightened under these conditions, and that many fine points, often of crucial importance, must be missed altogether.

121 The writer has attacked his problem from the same general linguistic angle but in a somewhat different [illegible]. A vast and sprawling linguistic structure such as Tibeto-Burman cannot successfully be attacked simply by seizing upon a few roots, or upon a few English equivalents, and tracing their vagaries from language to language. This methodological eclecticism might prove to be 'convenient', but would be about as effective as delapidating a skyscraper with the aid only of a pickaxe. Again, one might compile interminable lists of terms for some two hundred Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects, which would be unintelligible to everyone with the possible exception of the compiler. Once more, one might draw up elaborate maps showing the distribution of certain roots for kinship terms, or of certain terminological features, and attempt to derive various conclusions therefrom. This last approach, at any rate, is not to be

121 The exclusive emphasis on marriage as a causative factor
114 in kinship terminology, found both in Rivers and Aginsky though in different form, appears to be losing ground steadily; cf. the excellent studies by Fax, Eggan, McAllister, Opler, and Gilbert (in Eggan, 1937) and Opler (1937).

121 No use has been made of the terms "classificatory" and
128 "descriptive", each of which has acquired so wide a range of
60 connotations as to have lost all preciseness. The term "analytical" is used in its basic linguistic sense, e.g. "father's brother" is an analytical term, whereas "uncle" is a primary term. Note that a term may be only partly analytical, e.g. "uncle's son", where the fully analytical term would be "father's brother's son" or "mother's brother's son".

Three types of terminological equations are distinguished, as follows:

1. Categorical equation: equation of members of the two different categories of kin (consanguineal and affinal), e.g. "mother's brother"= "father-in-law".

2. Lineal equation: equation of members of two different lines of descent, e.g. "brother"= "father's sister's son", "son"= "brother's son".

3. Serial equation: equation of members of two different generations, e.g. "son"= "grandson".

These terms are to be regarded as convenient tags of some use in describing patterns of nomenclature, e.g. the Omaha and Crow types are characterized by serial equations in the cross collateral lines. The equation may rest on the extension